a reputation in her home state as an outspoken advocate of lynching African American males accused of raping white women, and her speeches reflected her racist and stereotypical attitudes. Much analysis has been done on Felton's arguments in support of lynching, but her core beliefs about interracial relationships were the basis for her argument. Felton rejected mulattos or the relationships that generated mixedrace children as base and degenerate and whites reprimanded who allowed black/white unions. Her solution to preventing white women from participating in biracial relationships was to exterminate black men who attracted white women and to humiliate white women who dallied with black men. Her reprimands developed over time into a diatribe that advocated violence against black men. The speech that generated reaction in Manly's paper was originally given by Felton in 1897, in which she cautioned white men to better protect and oversee white women on isolated farms so as to prevent them from being harmed by interaction with black men.⁴

newspapers printed such speculation. After the riot, William L. Jeffries, one of Manly's assistant editors, claimed authorship of the article when visiting in Chambersburg, Pennsylvania in December 1898. Jeffries was quoted as saying that the editorial was written to "show that there were two sides to the question and that the outrages were not all on one side." He further explained that if Manly returned to Wilmington, whites would "burn and kill him" but that they would be getting the "wrong man." For more on Manly's role, see Appendix G. *Contested Election Case*, 376.

⁴ Felton's speech, over a year old, was re-printed in the Wilmington *Morning Star* in August, 1898 because Felton's theme and tone mirrored the current white supremacy campaign. Manly may not have known that the speech was year old. However, Felton traveled widely to speak on the topic even after the 1897 speech at the Agricultural Society. LeeAnn Whites, "Love, Hate, Rape, Lynching: Rebeccan Latimer Felton and the Gender Politics of Racial Violence," in *Democracy Betrayed: The Wilmington Race Riot and IOts Legacy*, ed. David

Manly's response agreed with Felton on many points but diverged as the editorial suggested that white women of poorer classes "are not any more particular in the matter of clandestine meetings with colored men than are the white men with colored women." Manly pursued Felton's argument further, and his own well-known mulatto genealogy made his words even more pointed: "[E]very Negro lynched is called a 'big, burly, black brute' when in fact many of those who have thus been dealt with had white men for their fathers and were not only not 'black' and 'burly' but were sufficiently attractive for white girls of culture and refinement to fall in love with them as is very well known to all." Manly ended his editorial by appealing to whites to "teach your men purity" because he saw that it was "no worse for a black man to be intimate with a white woman, than for a white man to be intimate with a colored woman."



Alexander Manly Image Source: John H. W. Bonitz Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

Cecelski and Timothy Tyson (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 143-161; Gilmore, *Gender and Jim Crow*, 105.